

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 DUBLIN 00510 151050Z

21

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CPR-01 PM-04 SAM-01 NSC-05 OPR-02 PA-01

PRS-01 SS-15 SY-05 A-01 MMO-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

/050 W

----- 011916

O 151000Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7710

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE DUBLIN 510

FOR EUR/NE AT OOB MARCH 15

E. O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR OVIP (COSGRAVE, LIAM) US EI

SUBJ: OFFICIAL VISIT TO US BY IRISH PRIME MINISTER COSGRAVE -

LUNCHEON SPEECH TO SENATE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE AND
HOUSE INT'L REL'S COMMITTEE, MARCH 17

1. FOLLOWING IS A PARTIAL TEXT OF A DRAFT SPEECH TO BE
DELIVERED BY P.M. COSGRAVE FOLLOWING LUNCH ON THE HILL MARCH
17. PORTION QUOTED BELOW DEALS WITH NORTHERN IRELAND. THE
OTHER TWO SUBJECTS COVERED, THE WORLD-WIDE RECESSION AND
IRELAND IN THE EC, IS RATHER STANDARD ECHOLALIA.

2. BEGIN QUOTE.

IN IRELAND TODAY, WE HAVE THREE MAJOR PRE-OCCUPATIONS. THE FIRST
OF THESE IS NORTHERN IRELAND. THE SECOND IS THE ECONOMIC SITUATION
AND HOW BEST TO PULL OUT OF THE WORLD RECESSION WHICH HAS HIT US
AS IT HAS HIT MOST COUNTRIES IN THE WEST. THE THIRD CONCERNS OUR
RELATIONS WITH EUROPE AND HOW THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY
WILL DEVELOP.

EACH OF THESE PRE-OCCUPATIONS IS TIED IN WITH THE OTHER TWO. A
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 DUBLIN 00510 151050Z

SOLUTION TO ANY ONE OF THEM COULD PROVIDE THE KEY TO THE REMAINDER.

WITH YOUR PERMISSION, I WILL DEVELOP WHAT I MEAN A LITTLE FURTHER.

IN NORTHERN IRELAND, THERE EXISTS TWO SEPARATE COMMUNITIES. FOR THE PRESENT, THEIR ASPIRATIONS ARE INCOMPATIBLE. SOME - PERHAPS ONE MILLION PERSONS - WANT UNITY WITH BRITAIN. THE REMAINDER, ABOUT 500,000 IN NUMBER, ARE OF THE CATHOLIC POPULATION, MANY OF WHOM WANT UNITY WITH THE REST OF IRELAND. I NEED NOT EMPHASISE HERE THAT THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE ASPIRATION OF ONE COMMUNITY CAN MEAN, IN A HISTORIC PERSPECTIVE, ONLY THE LOSS OF THE POSSIBILITY OF ACHIEVING THE OTHER ASPIRATION. NEITHER COMMUNITY IS PREPARED TO SEE THEIR ASPIRATIONS EXTINGUISHED IN THIS WAY.

FOR REASONS IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO GO INTO HERE, THE EXISTENCE OF THESE TWO INCOMPATIBLE ASPIRATIONS SIDE BY SIDE IN A SMALL AREA HAS MEANT, IN PRACTICAL TERMS, THE WITHDRAWAL OF CONSENT TO GOVERNMENT BY PART OF THE POPULATION. THIS, IN TURN, HAS, ON THE PART OF AN EVEN SMALLER MINORITY, GIVEN RISE TO THE USE OF VIOLENCE TO ACHIEVE A POLITICAL END. THIS VIOLENCE AROSE ORIGINALLY, PERHAPS, IN RESPONSE TO OTHER VIOLENCE: AND NOW IN TURN BEGETS FURTHER VIOLENCE. I AM NOT CONCERNED HERE TO APPORTION BLAME. I THINK THE TIME IS PASSED FOR THAT.

WHAT I AM CONCERNED WITH IS TO SAY, AS FIRMLY AND AS UNEQUIVOCALLY AS I CAN, THAT MY GOVERNMENT AND I REPUDIATE ABSOLUTELY THE USE OF VIOLENCE TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF OUR ISLAND. IN PRACTICAL TERMS, IT IS SELF-DEFEATING. IT DESTROYS ANY POSSIBILITY OF CREATING THE SENSE OF FRIENDSHIP AND RESPECT OF ONE COMMUNITY FOR ANOTHER, ON WHICH ANY FUTURE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND, AND OUR ISLAND, MUST REST. IT CREATES DISSENSION WHICH, AS YOU WITH YOUR EXPERIENCES OF 100 YEARS AGO WILL KNOW WELL, IT TAKES GENERATIONS TO HEAL. I CAN DO LITTLE BETTER HERE THAN QUOTE WORDS USED ON THIS SUBJECT BY A COUNTRYMAN OF MINE ABOUT THE TIME OF DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE -

"POWER AND AUTHORITY ARE SOMETIMES BOUGHT BY KINDNESS; BUT THEY CAN NEVER BE BEGGED AS ALMS, BY AN IMPOVERISHED AND DEFEATED VIOLENCE THE THING YOU FOUGHT FOR IS NOT THE THING WHICH YOU RECOVER; BUT DEPRECIATED, SUNK, WASTED AND CONSUMED IN THE CONTEST".

THE IRISH GOVERNMENT HAVE DONE ALL IN THEIR POWER TO CONTAIN AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 DUBLIN 00510 151050Z

DISCOURAGE VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND. WE HAVE BUILT UP THE STRENGTH OF OUR SECURITY FORCES TO A POINT UNKNOWN EXCEPT IN TIME OF ACTUAL WAR. WE HAVE CHANGED OUR LAWS TO MAKE THE USE OF SUBVERSION AND TERRORISM AS DIFFICULT AS POSSIBLE FOR THOSE WHO PROFESS TO BELIEVE IN THESE METHODS. WE HAVE TAKEN POWERS TO ENSURE THAT THE MEDIA ARE NOT ABUSED BY THESE SAME PEOPLE IN FURTHERANCE OF THEIR INTERESTS. IN ALL THIS, WE HAVE NOT BEEN WITHOUT SUCCESS.

YOU MAY SAY THAT IN WHAT WE ARE DOING WE ARE PERHAPS TRANSGRESSING THE SPIRIT OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY. AN EXAMINATION OF THE FACTS WILL, I THINK, DISCLOSE THAT IF THERE IS A TRANSGRESSION ON LIBERTY THE CAUSE DOES NOT LIE WITH THE IRISH GOVERNMENT ACTING ON BEHALF OF THE IRISH PEOPLE WHO ELECTED THEM. NEITHER THE GOVERNMENT NOR THE OPPOSITION PARTY, NOR INDEED ANY POLITICAL PARTY IN DAIL EIREANN, SUPPORTS THE USE OF VIOLENCE TO ATTAIN UNITY IN OUR ISLAND. IN FACT, AS I SAID TODAY, POLITICAL GROUPS PROFESSING THIS BELIEF OBTAINED PERHAPS 1 1/2 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL VOTE AT THE LAST ELECTIONS IN WHICH THEY STOOD. THEY HAVE NO REPRESENTATION IN ANY RECENTLY CONSTITUTED PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTION IN NORTHERN IRELAND. THE PEOPLE OF MY COUNTRY DO NOT WANT VIOLENCE. THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND DO NOT WANT IT. THE PEOPLE OF THE ENTIRE ISLAND HAVE JOINED TOGETHER EMPHATICALLY IN REJECTING IT ON EVERY OCCASION IN WHICH THEY HAD THE CHANCE.

DO NOT MISTAKE ME. WE, IN MY COUNTRY, HAVE NOT ABANDONED OUR ASPIRATION TOWARDS THE UNITY OF OUR ISLAND. WE BELIEVE IN THIS AS DEEPLY AND AS PASSIONATELY AS EVER. WHAT WE HAVE ABANDONED IS THE BELIEF THAT IT CAN BE ACHIEVED BY BLOOD, MURDER AND ARSON. WE HOLD THAT FOR THE PRESENT IT IS NECESSARY THAT DIRECT RULE BE CONTINUED THERE AND THAT ANY PERMANENT ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE AREA PROVIDE FOR THE PARTICIPATION OF BOTH SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY IN GOVERNMENT.

WE BELIEVE IN WORKING FOR FRIENDSHIP WITH THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND. WE LIVE IN A SMALL ISLAND TOGETHER. WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT, WE SHARE BONDS OF ECONOMIC INTEREST AND CULTURE WHICH CANNOT BE IGNORED OR WISHED AWAY. WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS FOR THE GOOD OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND THAT THESE BONDS SHOULD BE RECOGNISED AND DEVELOPED FOR OUR COMMON FUTURE. WE BELIEVE THAT IF WE CAN DEVELOP OUR COUNTRY, ITS CULTURE, ITS INSTITUTIONS AND ITS ECONOMY, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 DUBLIN 00510 151050Z

WE CAN, IN TIME, MAKE IT A PLACE WITH WHICH THE MAJORITY POPULATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND WILL GLADLY JOIN. WE RESPECT THEIR RIGHT NOW TO WITHHOLD ANY SUCH CONSENT JUST AS WE HOPE THAT IN THE FUTURE THEY CAN SEE THE PATH OF ADVANTAGE LYING TOWARDS THE SOUTH.

I SAID WHEN I BEGAN TO SPEAK THAT ALL THREE OF OUR MAJOR CONCERNS NOW ARE LINKED. WE CANNOT COMPEL CONSENT. WE MUST EARN IT BY EXAMPLE AND CO-OPERATION. IN NO WAY, PERHAPS, CAN THIS BE DONE BETTER THAN BY MAKING OUR ECONOMY GROW AND PROSPER IN A WAY WHICH MAKES OUR COUNTRY AN EVEN MORE ATTRACTIVE PLACE IN WHICH TO LIVE AND WORK.

END QUOTE
CURLEY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, MINISTERIAL VISITS, SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 MAR 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976DUBLIN00510
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760096-1085
From: DUBLIN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760361/aaaacbsz.tel
Line Count: 168
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <29 APR 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <23 AUG 2004 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: OFFICIAL VISIT TO US BY IRISH PRIME MINISTER COSGRAVE - LUNCHEON SPEECH TO SENATE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE
AND
TAGS: PFOR, OVIP, US, EI, (COSGRAVE, LIAM)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006